

/179 cont./

474 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who
554 have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers,
etc., belonging to surrounding society. However, in case of damage,
(434) everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not
(432) suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside,
sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to
the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude
596 that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is
178 not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close obser-
675 vation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has
been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus
in order to interpret the individual points of the covenant (execution
and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions,
sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs per-
taining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general
frame of reference.

• (538) A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true
father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family
596 and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit
peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with
what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests
on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements
675 which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six
months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are
renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.

554 The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/270 cont./

776 must then dispose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
(782) and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may
be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
(789) of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black
dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the
moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the
base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p. 289.

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
(538) ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant
for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter
evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Høeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a
regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
(753) idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, super-
natural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often
identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted
in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--
circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--
without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
822 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
(753) bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a
burned bit of the father's cloak.

/334 cont./

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77) Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity. They have
[77] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to
that which we have described in the context of practices of the first
category so that we need not go over these again.

771
171 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
178 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called
"folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just
been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases,
even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. How-
ever, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning
is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is
more pronounced.

/335/

FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and
philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one
must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in
which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere,
perched behind our ears." (1)

1. *Ibid.*, A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on
the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they
envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which
is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the
totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

771 /343 cont./

177 19. See Ibid., A. I., p. 250.
114 the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with
585 burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal
764 union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tseligas and
without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside
cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his
771 ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure,
177 so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building
of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the
holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

771 But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani
764 religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last
775 sacraments. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge with-
788 out having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society
prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is
kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and
partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism
of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection
with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

771 To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the
773 pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the
186 time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us
whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity,
the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

771 Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts
177 seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no
773 Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us
179 by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice!
(538) Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing
(539) the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:
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811 knowledge. Nor does the structure of their thinking. The latter is not independent of the framework. If the framework would favor knowledge, the Sarakatsani would be in a position to proceed to classifications of reality more adequate than those they possess, and even to replace myth and mythical classifications with knowledge and rational classifications. For, it is necessary to recognize that [193] myth represents a solution. It fills the gaps that knowledge leaves behind.

[193] Nevertheless, these last assertions seem to beg the question about the role of myth and the relations of myth to knowledge, which we have [128] accepted without verifying them. This is the task we shall now undertake.

MYTH AS A COMPLEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

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338 At first glance this heading may seem strange in view of the fact that myth, seen from the outside, is merely an account found in "oral literature" (8) or in religion rather than in connection with means of

8. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Le Totémisme, p. 14, presenting the various meanings of myth: "It is a category of our thinking that we use arbitrarily to assemble under the same term attempts to explain natural phenomena, works of oral literature, philosophical speculations and cases of the emergence of a linguistic process to the consciousness of the subject." --G. Sorel: Réflexions... Introduction, pp. 39-45 and G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 124, designate as myth the idea which certain social groups, social classes or global societies have of their situation; this idea calls into action and brings about a situation.

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See also Vol. XXXIII/62 of C.I.d.S., passim,
dealing with myth.

cognition. /358/ In order to justify the heading we must analyze myth,
look at it from the inside.

* * * *

121 Cosmological or anthropological myth is not all an imaginary or
arbitrary tale, as is generally believed. It is a totality of
statements expressed symbolically whose roots are buried in a profound
vibration of the total man faced with the natural or human universe and
endeavoring to discover the origins of the latter, its evolution, its
inner working. (9)

9. See A. Jensen: Mythes et Cultes, p. 83, M.
Leenhardt: Do Camo, p. 226, C. Lévi-Strauss:
Anthropologie, pp. 228 and 225, R. Thurnwadt:
L'esprit humain, p. 136.--On the symbolic
form of myth, R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psycho-
analyse, p. 281.

Reason plays only a partial role in this drama, and often after the event.
Thus, myth constitutes an area where man and the universe meet. There
results from it /the meeting/ a specific image of the world, the external
form of the myth. (10)

10. M. Leenhardt: Ibid., p. 248, "myth is felt and
experienced before being comprehended intellectually and
formulated." We concur with this statement. That is why we
have accepted mythic transmission in the magic of the
Sarakatsani, despite the fact that they have forgotten
mythology, at least in the form of a coherent account.

In order to form the statements of myth man does not proceed from con-
cepts "but from perceptions /"percepts?/, images, events and fragments of

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrétien (1962).

(128) We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the
789 magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in

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789 which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed,
533 dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must
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531 experience, (2)

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2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

(539)

- The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
- The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
- She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiancée, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancée. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

(539)

- For whom is this red and white flag?
- It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
- Who makes it and who colors it red?
- His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
- All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
- All must be armed and all must fire guns
- So that the flag will know prosperity...
- Take care, stitch it tight
- It will travel over the mountain
- It will be torn by brambles
- And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancée, the

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with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the present time.

538 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits.
(5)

S. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

538 However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.
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53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.
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